

## Message Text

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66603  
DRAFTED BY: ARA/PAN:SMOREYBELL  
APPROVED BY: S/S - THOMAS R PICKERING  
ARA - MR KUBISCH  
S - MR EAGLEBURGER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA  
INFO GOV PANCANAL  
USCINCSO

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, US, PN (KISSINGER) (TACK)  
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S BILATERAL WITH PANAMA FONMIN TACK

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION: FM TACK, PANAMA OCTOBER 5, 1973,  
4:30 PM 35A WALDORF

1. PARTICIPANTS: PANAMA: FONMIN TACK, AMB TO US/GONZALEZ  
REVILLA, AMB TO UN BOYD, AMB TO OAS PITTY, FOREIGN OFFICE  
ADVISER STAGG  
US: THE SECRETARY, AMBASSADOR AT LARGE BUNKER, ASST SECY KUBISCH,  
NSC MR JORDEN, PANAMA COUNTRY DIRECTOR BELL

2. SUMMARY: SECRETARY PRESENTED BUNKER AS "OUR VERY BEST  
DIPLOMAT" WHOM HE HAS CHARGED WITH REACHING PROMPT SETTLE-  
MENT--AND IN PRIVATE--CONSISTENT WITH NEEDS OF BOTH PARTIES.  
FONMIN RECOGNIZED SIGNIFICANCE OF BUNKER APPOINTMENT AND  
SAID PANAMA WELCOMES CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS, RECOGNIZING  
THAT CANAL IS IMPORTANT TO U.S. END SUMMARY

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3. FONMIN RAISED THE TREATY ISSUE BY SAYING THAT ALTHOUGH  
NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN PROTRACTED, THE TIME HAS NOT BEEN  
WASTED SINCE BOTH PARTIES HAVE COME TO KNOW EACH OTHER BETTER.  
HE EXPLAINED THAT OCCASIONALLY THE TWO NEGOTIATING POSITIONS

HAVE ALMOST CONVERGED, ONLY TO BE SEPARATED AGAIN BY DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF KEY LANGUAGE. (FOR EXAMPLE, OCCASIONAL U.S. USAGE OF "REVISION" INSTEAD OF "ABROGATION"). IN ANY CASE, PANAMA'S OBJECTIVE IS THE CLEAR AND SIMPLE ONE OF "PERFECTING ITS INDEPENDENCE", MEANING REINTEGRATION OF ZONE INTO LIFE OF PANAMA. PANAMA IS AWARE OF "GREAT IMPORTANCE" U.S. ATTACHES TO WATERWAY; IS WILLING THAT U.S. CONTINUE TO ADMINISTER IT; BUT INSISTS THAT U.S. ADMINISTRATION BE CIVILIAN ONLY IN NATURE AND DESIGNED TO SERVE THE ENTIRE WORLD; AND IS SEEKING "THE LEAST COMPLICATED TREATY POSSIBLE". TACK CONCLUDED BY SAYING PANAMA WILL MAKE "MAXIMUM EFFORT" RESOLVE DIFFERENCES QUICKLY AND HAS "OPEN ARMS" FOR AMBASSADOR BUNKER.

4. SECRETARY SAID HE IS ONLY JUST BEGINNING TO READ IN ON PANAMA PROBLEM, BUT IS ALREADY AWARE OF THE "PRINCIPLES" TACK PROPOSED. HE HAS ASSIGNED AMBASSADOR BUNKER--A GOOD PERSONAL FRIEND WHO HAS BOTH HIS TOTAL CONFIDENCE AND DIRECT ACCESS TO HIM--TO INITIATE NEW NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO BRINGING THEM TO PROMPT CONCLUSION. SETTLEMENT, TO BE SURE, WILL HAVE TO BE CONSISTENT WITH INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES, AND EACH WILL LIKELY HAVE TO MAKE "ADJUSTMENTS." SECRETARY CAUTIONED, ALSO, THAT "U.S. DOES NOT REACT VERY WELL TO PUBLIC PRESSURE" AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE UNDERTAKEN QUIETLY.

5. "WE HOPE TO COME OUT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH A STRENGHTENED RELATIONSHIP--FOR THAT, YOU CANNOT EXTORT FROM US, AND WE CANNOT IMPOSE OUR WILL ON YOU", SECRETARY CONTINUED. RESPONDING TO FONMIN'S POINT THAT THE SETTLEMENT MUST BE ONE WHICH THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE APPROVE, SECRETARY SAID HE UNDERSTOOD PANAMA'S DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEM, BUT "IF WE DO A GOOD JOB THE OUTCOME WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES". SECRETARY CONCLUDED BY PROMISING HE WOULD KEEP A PERSONAL EYE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS AND VOLUNTEERED HIMSELF FOR A FURTHER MEETING WITH FONMIN IF AT ANY TIME HE THOUGHT IT NECESSARY, PARTICULARLY WERE A STALEMATE TO ARISE.

6. EXCHANGE OCCURRED WITH RESPECT VENUE OF NEGOTIATIONS,  
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WITH TACK AGREEING AT LAST THAT NEGOTIATIONS NEED NOT BE CONDUCTED EXCLUSIVELY IN PANAMA, ALTHOUGH HOLDING THEM THERE INSTILLS NECESSARY CONFIDENCE IN PANAMANIAN PEOPLE. AMBASSADOR BUNKER CONFIRMED HIS FIRST VISIT TO PANAMA IN EARLY DAYS NOVEMBER.

7. COMMENT: IN OBVIOUS REACTION TO SECRETARY'S HUMOR, THE NORMALLY FRIGID TACK WAS RELAXED, AT TIMES WITTY, AND CLEARLY IMPRESSED WITH SECRETARY'S EMPHASIS ON DESIGNATION OF BUNKER AS SIGNAL OF IMPORTANCE U.S. ATTACHES TO THE NEGOTIATION, AS WELL AS WITH SECRETARY'S PROMISE TO WATCH NEGOTIATIONS PERSONALLY. IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION GONZALEZ REVILLA, BOYD AND PITTY WERE EFFUSIVE WITH GRATITUDE FOR "MAGNIFICENT,

REWARDING INTERVIW." SOLE INTRIGUING SUBSTANTIVE POINTS TACK  
MADE WERE WITH RESPECT TO UNCOMPLICATED TREATY AND CIVILIAN  
ADMINISTRATION OF CANAL ZONE, BOTH DISTINCT DEPARTURES FROM  
HIS PREVIOUS POSITIONS. KISSINGER

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